

*Ac.
S
recd. June 6/14
to the auditor*

FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

THIRD SERIES—1913

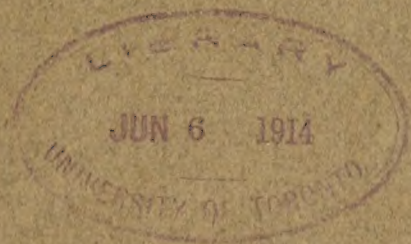
VOLUME VII



**THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS IN THE EASTERN
SEIGNIORIES AND TOWNSHIPS OF THE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC**

By

WILBUR H. SIEBERT.



OTTAWA

PRINTED FOR THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA

1913

The American Loyalists in the Eastern Seigniories and Townships of the Province of Quebec.

BY WILBUR H. SIEBERT, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY.

Presented by Dr. W. D. LeSueur.

(Read May 28, 1913.)

The great triangular district lying north of New York and Vermont, with the St. Lawrence and the St. Francis forming the other two sides, was a favoured region for loyalist immigration during the Revolutionary War. To the south was the valley of the Hudson filled with adherents of the Crown, while Lake Champlain served as a connecting link between the valley and the River Richelieu, along which were situated several British posts,—the Isle aux Noix on the New York frontier, and at distances farther north, St. Johns, St. Ours, Chambley, and Sorel, the last named marking the junction of the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence. These posts, and others along the St. Lawrence, offered refuge to those whose opinions and activities rendered them obnoxious to such of their fellow-countrymen as espoused the cause of American independence. It is not surprising, therefore, that many sought escape from conditions which they found intolerable by what may be called the Lake Champlain route. However, not all the American refugees who entered the Province of Quebec came by way of the lake: numbers of those from the Mohawk Valley followed one of several western routes, by way of Oswego or points farther east, whence they passed to the St. Lawrence and so down the beautiful river to Montreal or Quebec.

With the beginning of the Revolution the movement of Tories into Lower Canada began. Lieutenant Colonel Allan Maclean fled from Schenectady by the Oswego route in the early summer of 1775, taking with him a party of "Royal Highland Emigrants," composed chiefly of Scotch refugees and disbanded soldiers, in whose enlistment Guy Johnson had aided. These men were enrolled under instructions from General Thomas Gage, authorizing the formation of a corps of two battalions to consist of ten companies each, each company to comprise nine officers, two drummers, and fifty privates.* On its arrival in Quebec, the party numbered eighty men. A local officer described them in disparaging terms as "Irish fishermen unacquainted with the use of arms." In September, Maclean and his men were dispatched

*Haldimand Papers, B. 173, p. 1.

from Quebec to St. Johns to help resist the invasion of Canada by Richard Montgomery and his force of 1500 Continentals. After marching as far as Sorel Maclean took post there, but when the local militia on whom he depended for support deserted, he sought refuge with his troops aboard armed vessels in the harbor and returned to the capital of the province, arriving just in time to render valuable service in the defence of that place against the attacks of Benedict Arnold.*

If Quebec was saved from capture, Montreal was not, and remained in possession of the Americans until the last week in June, 1776. On the day following its re-occupation by the Canadians, Sir John Johnson arrived there with about two hundred followers, having fled from his patrimonial estate in the Mohawk Valley toward the close of the preceding month.† Sir John received a cordial welcome from Governor Guy Carleton, and was at once commissioned to raise a battalion, to be called the King's Royal Regiment of New York, from among his companions and the distressed people he had left behind. In granting this commission Carleton was acting under the express authority of the home government in England, which had given its approval of the formation of a corps by Sir John in the previous March.‡ This shows conclusively that the baronet's military preparations at Johnstown before his flight were part of a preconcerted plan that might have been thwarted if General Philip Schuyler and his Continentals had taken Sir John into custody in January, 1776, instead of disarming and releasing him at that time.⁴ However, when the danger of arrest again threatened Johnson and his party escaped, departing by way of the Sacondaga, thence taking a northwestwardly route to avoid Lake Champlain, lest it might be in the possession of the Americans, and entering the Province of Quebec probably east of the St. Lawrence by way of St. Regis. The corps received frequent accessions from the colonies, the first to be recorded being "parties, some with arms, who had come in at Crown Point for refuge," and who joined the regiment in November.⁵ The spirit of the new organization was warmly commended by Carleton two months later. At the same time, provision was made for the care of the unincorporated refugees with the regiment and for the administration of the oath of allegiance to all who had thus far arrived.⁶

*Can. Arch., 1890, State Papers, 65, 66; Sir John Johnson's Orderly Book, 55, n.; Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, 101, and the references there given.

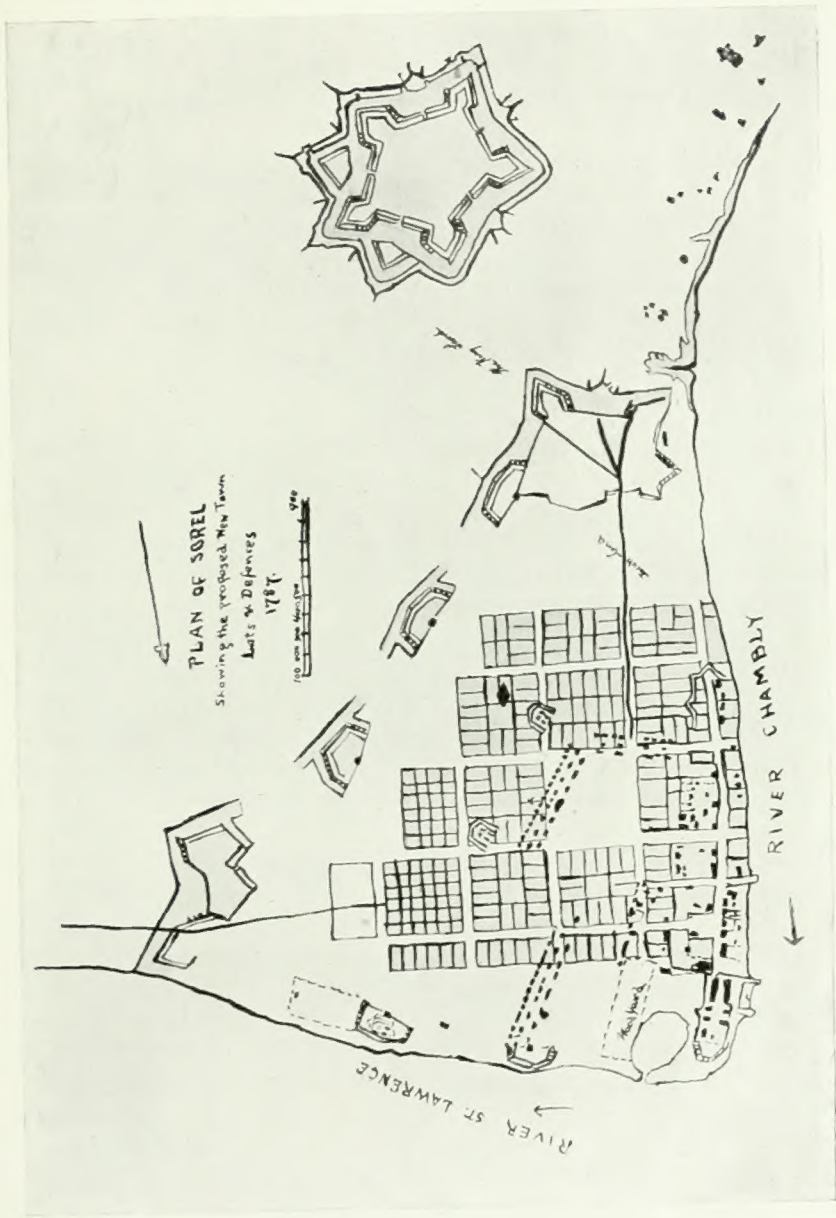
†Can. Arch., 1890, State Papers, 73; Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 375, 376, 381, 382, 383, 384, 410, 411.

‡Can. Arch., 1885, 235.

⁴Stone, *Life of Brant*, I., 142.

⁵Can. Arch., 1890, State Papers, 78.

⁶Can. Arch., 1885, 231, 252.



Ebenezer and Edward Jessup were not far behind Johnson in crossing the boundary line between New York and Canada. According to the testimony of Jonathan Jones, one of their party, they fled from Albany County, New York, in October, 1776, with a following of eighty loyalists.* The route they travelled brought them to Crown Point, where they joined the British Army before it retired to the Isle aux Noix and St. Johns on account of the lateness of the season. For convenience in drawing rations and other supplies, the party was temporarily attached to Sir John Johnson's regiment, then in winter quarters at La Chine on the St. Lawrence. We are told that Sir Guy Carleton was disposed at first to treat Jessup's men merely as refugees, but as early as November 4, 1777, they were organized into three companies with Jones and the two Jessups as captains.† In the following spring, as the time drew near for the moving of Burgoyne's and St. Leger's expeditions, Sir John Johnson gave orders (May 16) that "Jessup's Corps" should be ready to march at a day's warning, and a month later the three companies left La Chine to join Burgoyne's army at St. Johns,‡ whence the latter was to proceed on its campaign down the Hudson. In a communication to Burgoyne, July 17, 1778, Ebenezer Jessup reminds his former commander that his corps was mustered in at Skenesborough under commissions in blank supplied by Carleton for that purpose, that the corps or battalion, which was to be designated the King's Loyal Americans, was to be filled to a specified number before the commissions were issued, that as the expedition advanced into the country many joined the corps, but that, from a variety of causes, the battalion fell short by sixty-three men of the number required to entitle the officers to their commissions.⁴

On the heels of the Jessups, a party of loyalists was brought in by Dr. Samuel Adams, of Albany, whose arrival is recorded in a letter of December 2, 1776. Several years later Adams declared that he had raised these men to serve with Burgoyne and had come into Canada with a hundred of them, together "with some volunteers who had escaped through the woods." Whether the number mentioned was an exaggeration, or we are to suppose that most of the men joined other corps after their arrival in Canada, is not clear. At any rate, it appears from the muster roll that Captain Samuel Adams' company of Rangers was "raised" (which I take to mean "commissioned") by order of General Burgoyne, August 9, 1777, and that it comprised at the time four officers and twenty-six effective privates.⁵

*Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 105; Can. Arch., 1885, 250, 251.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 167, pp. 5, 8, 11; Johnson's Orderly Book, 36, n., 4, n.

‡Johnson's Orderly Book, 36, n., 4, n.

⁴Haldimand Papers, B. 214, p. 26.

⁵Can. Arch., 1885, 250; 1888, 687; Haldimand Papers, B. 167, p. 16.

Very soon after the arrival of Adams, the McDonalds appeared in Canada with a body of a hundred recruits for Maclean's and Johnson's regiments. These McDonalds were Alexander and John, the two Tory Scotchmen who had lived on Sir John Johnson's estate until they were taken captive in January, 1776. Later, they obtained permission from General Schuyler to visit their families, and seized the opportunity to abduct some of the Scotch settlers and German loyalists of the neighborhood, effecting their departure in March, 1777.* Early in the following April the McDonalds were at La Chine preparatory to taking the field when ordered.†

The arrival of these parties of loyalists in quick succession, and their readiness to enlist for service, led Carleton to issue instructions, December 12, 1776, for the formation of corps of refugees. He already had a partial warrant for doing so in the establishment of Sir John Johnson's regiment under authority from the Colonial Office, and his action anticipated by only a few months new instructions from the same source, dated March 26, 1777, authorizing an invitation to all loyal subjects of the neighboring frontiers to join the King's forces under the assurance of receiving the same pay and allowances as the other corps raised in America, while to each of those serving until the restoration of peace a grant of two hundred acres of land was promised in addition.‡

Of the parties mentioned above, those of Jessup and Adams set out with Burgoyne upon his expedition. Another corps that accompanied Burgoyne was that of John Peters, a colonel of militia and judge of the court of common pleas from Gloucester County, New York. As early as August, 1774, Peters had been "mobbed and kept from his house" for eight months, and after returning had received the same treatment. In consequence he fled to Canada, arriving there in March, 1776. In June he was in Montreal, warning the town of the intended attack upon it by the Americans. Thence he went to join the British army at St. Johns. Less than a year later his wife and seven sons came to Canada, after they had been "plundered of everything excepting their wearing apparel" by the revolutionists. By May 12, 1777, Peters had gathered up twenty-four officers and men. On June 24, he received formal enlisting orders from General Carleton for his batallion, which was to be called the Queen's Loyal Rangers, and in the following month he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the new corps.⁴

*Can. Arch., 1890, 84; 1888, 643; Stone, Burgoyne's Campaign, 144; Johnson's Orderly Book, 56, n.

†Johnson's Orderly Book, 30.

‡Can. Arch., 1885, 251, 237, 238.

⁴Haldimand Papers, B. 215, pp. 209, 210; B. 167, p. 31.

For us the plan of campaign of the summer of 1777, in which Burgoyne, St. Leger, and Sir William Howe participated, is of interest only in relation to the loyalists. The valley of the Hudson, by which Burgoyne was to descend upon Albany, while Howe ascended the river to the same point, was full of loyalists; and so also was the valley of the Mohawk, by which St. Leger, marching from Oswego, was expected to reach Albany at the right juncture. Burgoyne's advance guard, sailing from Cumberland Bay on June 19, comprised his loyalist or provincial troops. Among the troops that joined St. Leger at Oswego were Sir John Johnson and one hundred and thirty-three men of his corps from La Chine* and Colonel John Butler's Tory Rangers from Fort Niagara.† Burgoyne, Johnson, and Sir Guy Carleton all expected other bands of loyalists to rally to the support of the advancing forces. Indeed, Carleton furnished General Burgoyne with blank commissions for the enlistment of two or more corps of rangers, in addition to those already under his command; while the latter sought to assure himself of these accessions, which he hoped to gather in "from Hampshire, Skenesborough and Albany," by sending emissaries into the colonies for the purpose.‡ Partly, no doubt, as a result of these precautions, and partly of their own volition, numerous provincials joined the British on their lines of march: we learn of their attaching themselves to Burgoyne at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Skenesborough, Ft. Edward, Ft. Miller, Saratoga, and other places, and to Johnson's corps under St. Leger at Oswego and Ft. Stanwix.§ The testimony of these volunteers shows that while many of them came in singly, others came in in larger or smaller groups. Thus, Dr. James Stuart, of Ulster County, New York, joined St. Leger at Oswego with fifty-two men,¶ and Jacob Miller enlisted with fifty under the same command at Ft. Stanwix.¶ Paul Heck of Camden, Charlotte County, attached himself to Burgoyne at Crown Point with a company of "thirty-nine farmers";§ Samuel Perry, of Saratoga, appeared at Ticonderoga with forty-seven recruits;¶ and, at the same point, Isaac Man, Jr., of Still Water, came in with fifty-seven;¶ Daniel Jones, of Charlotte County, presented himself at Skenesborough with

*Johnson's Orderly Book, 10, n., 4, n., 82, n.

†Ibid., 2, n.

‡Can. Arch., 1890, 86.

§Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. II., 923; Pt. I., 398, 462, 422, 409, 439, 444, 414, etc.; 400, 419, 440, etc.

¶Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 303.

¶Haldimand Papers, B. 214, p. 123.

¶Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 401.

¶Ibid., Pt. I., 45.

¶Ibid., 335.

thirty;* John Howard also joined the army at Skenesborough and soon after assisted in collecting and bringing in a hundred recruits.† Hugh Munro enlisted at the same place, was at once appointed to a captaincy in Jessup's corps, and gathered a number of men who became the nucleus of a batteau company that was formed after the army reached Ft. Edward;‡ other accessions at the two encampments last named were the result of the activity of Francis Pfister and Robert Leake, who sent in, according to the latter's statement, eighty men, with a return of the number they had raised;§ William and Thomas Fraser, of Tryon County, enlisted at Ft. Edward after escaping from Albany, where, with one hundred recruits they were conducting to Canada, they had been imprisoned; Captain Daniel McAlpin with sixty "American Volunteers," raised at the instance of Sir William Howe, also enlisted at Ft. Edward;¶ Gershom French conducted ninety-four men to the army at Saratoga, after arming them by force at the expense of the Americans;§ Alexander Crukshank and six others escaped from Esopus jail in Ulster County, New York, to Burgoyne's camp at Saratoga, Crukshank's family coming in soon after;|| Peter VanAlstine, of Kinderhook, Albany County, added thirty men to Burgoyne's forces, but where is not stated; neither is it stated where a party of the Mohawks joined Burgoyne, but the Rev. John Stuart, missionary to this tribe, declares that he sent his congregation of Indians to support the King's troops, probably the group of 40 or 50 men led in by Joseph Clement of Tyron County.¶

Under these circumstances Burgoyne should have had no difficulty in forming the extra battalions for which he had blank commissions, or in filling the ranks of those already under his command. He had sent emissaries into the colonies to secure Tory recruits before he started down Lake Champlain; prominent men who joined him were at once sent back with "beating orders" to bring in such parties as they could raise, and, with no abatement of zeal in this direction, one of his objects in despatching Baum's expedition to the Connecticut River on August 14, was to complete Peter's regiment of provincials, which formed part of Baum's forces.¶ Before Burgoyne's advance guard had passed Crown Point, Peters and his corps had been joined by thirty-three men (June 25); on the fourteenth of the following

*Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 398.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 214, p. 235.

‡Ibid., pp. 210-215.

§Ibid., p. 41.

¶Ibid., B. 167, p. 157.

¶Ibid., B. 161, pp. 1-3.

¶Ibid., B. 214, p. 96.

¶Ibid., B. 215, p. 96; Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. II., 965.

¶Stone, Burgoyne's Campaign, ap. 278.

month they received an accession of twenty-six, and two days later - the date on which they took part in the battle of Bennington—sixty-eight more enlisted. Thirty-seven others joined the corps at various times, apparently before Baum's expedition.* These figures are taken from the muster rolls and seem to show that a total of 164 men joined the corps up to the time of the engagement. That they fall far short of what were probably the facts will appear below. On the day before the battle Francis Pfister and Robert Leake, according to the testimony of the latter, joined Baum with upwards of 200 men. These were less than a third of the whole number which Leake says they had raised under orders from General William Howe.† But Pfister's father-in-law, John McComb, of Hoosick, Albany County, New York, says in a memorial to Haldimand that Lieutenant Pfister and he engaged upwards of 500 effective men, of whom 318 actually joined Burgoyne.‡ This continual enlistment of loyalists was shrewdly taken advantage of by the enemy to impose on the credulity of the British leaders. Colonel Baum himself, according to General Riedesel, suffered small bodies of armed men to encamp on his sides and rear under the representation that they were loyalists. Later, stronger forces of revolutionists arrived and attacked Baum's contingent, which was made up mostly of Germans, whereupon the seeming loyalists also began to attack the Germans. The result was that "Baum suddenly found himself cut off from all his detached posts." After two hours of hard fighting the German officer was mortally wounded, most of his men were lost, and he was forced to surrender.⁴ In an undated memorial to Haldimand, Colonel Peters states that his own losses at Bennington (August 16) were one lieutenant, one ensign and 210 privates killed, one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign and twenty-seven privates taken prisoners.⁵ Of Pfister's regiment, Pfister himself fell, and Leake tells us that 121 of Pfister's men were killed or captured, the remainder retreating to Ft. Miller, where they joined the main body of the army, and were placed under the command of Samuel Mackay. He also states that they were joined within a few days by others of Pfister's men to the number of 229.⁶ The muster rolls indicate that six days after the battle about a hundred men left the corps. This was in accordance with the terms of their enlistment, but whether they dispersed or betook themselves to

*Haldimand Papers, B. 167, muster roll of Peter's corps.

†Ibid., B. 214, pp. 41, 42.

‡Ibid., p. 207.

⁴ For Riedesel's account, see Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 31, 32; for Burgoyne's account, see the latter's *State of the Expedition*.

⁵ Haldimand Papers, B. 215, p. 210.

⁶ Ibid., B. 214, pp. 41, 42.

Canada does not appear. At any rate, Peters tells Haldimand that in September he mustered 317 men at Saratoga;† doubtless that number included the contingent brought in there by Gershom French, which was incorporated with Peter's corps. It probably also included whatever remained of Captain Justus Sherwood's company of Tories, for Sherwood, who had entered Canada in 1776, had raised a company and served under Peters throughout the campaign, returning to Canada immediately after the Convention.‡

During the battle of Bennington, Burgoyne and his main army were at Ft. Edward, where they remained until September 13. On that and the following day they crossed to Ft. Miller on the west side of the Hudson, being accompanied by the loyalist companies and corps. It was, indeed, from the corps of Peters, Jessup, McAlpin, and Mackay that Burgoyne supplied the losses of his regiments of the line after an engagement with the Congress troops at Bemis Heights, September 19, ordering the transfer of a hundred and twenty "men of tried bravery and fidelity" for this purpose.⁴ That the loyalists suffered in this encounter is indicated by Peters' statement of heavy losses from certain companies of his own militia regiment, which had joined him. Lieutenant Colonel Kingston, who served as Burgoyne's adjutant and secretary, testified before the committee of inquiry of the House of Commons that at the opening of the campaign, July 1, there were no more than eighty-three provincials in the army, exclusive of Canadian troops, and that two months later they had increased to six hundred and eighty, their maximum number, according to his statement.⁵ Burgoyne, writing to Lord George Germaine from his camp at Skenesborough, July 11, after mentioning the battalions of Peters and Jessup as being still "in embryo but very promising," said that "some hundreds of men, a third part of them with arms," had joined him since penetrating to that place; that some wished to serve to the end of the war and some for the campaign only, and that he had not hesitated to receive them.⁶ Skenesborough was one of the earlier camps, but we know that loyalists did not cease coming in after that point was reached. There are reasons for supposing that some did not continue long with the expedition; but on the other hand, many more served Burgoyne nobly on the battlefield, as we have seen. Nevertheless, after the destruction of Baum's force, the British Commander began to disparage the loyalists

*Haldimand Papers B. 167, pp. 17-19.

†Ibid., B. 215, p. 210.

‡Ibid., B. 228, p. 107; Second Report Bureau of Archives, Pt. II., 218.

⁴ Burgoyne's Orderly Book, 116; Kingsford, *History of Canada*, VI., 249, 250.

⁵ Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition*, 97, 113, ap. li.

⁶ Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition*, ap. xxxvi, xxxvii.

both as to character and numbers. Writing to Germaine, August 20, 1777, he was loth to admit that he had more than "about 400," of whom he declared not half were armed "who may be depended upon," the rest being "trimmers merely actuated by interest." It has already been noted that Lieutenant Colonel Kingston's figures place the loyalist contingent at six hundred and eighty on September 1, or only ten days later than the date of Burgoyne's statement. We must believe, therefore, either that Burgoyne gave too small a number, or that a considerable accession of loyalists took place during the days immediately following Baum's defeat. In either case, the figures are totally misleading as to the whole number of provincials who joined the expedition. On this point the best evidence we have is the accumulated testimony of the loyalist volunteers themselves, which indicates approximately three times the number mentioned by Kingston, not counting those who joined St. Leger. We may be sure, however, that his own catastrophe at Saratoga did not improve Burgoyne's opinion of the loyalists: he not only failed to introduce a word in their behalf into his articles of capitulation, but also "blamed them for his defeat." †

Happily, the Tories possessed sufficient prudence to make up for their neglect by their commander-in-chief. Of those who remained with him until the surrender many escaped before the actual capitulation, although Lieutenant Colonel Kingston testified that he had never heard of any corps finding its way back to Canada. However, he admitted that the matter of flight had been discussed and that the guides with the expedition had said that those attempting escape must break into small parties and follow the Indian paths. ‡ This is evidently what was done by the majority. Those who first succeeded in getting away to Canada were Captain Mackay and his company, and Captain Fraser. A week before his surrender, Burgoyne had sent Captains Fraser and Mackay with their light troops back to assist in opening a road to Ft. Edward, on the line of retreat. On the appearance of the enemy in considerable numbers Fraser's men were recalled, while the provincials under Mackay "ran away," according to Burgoyne,⁴ that is, started northward for Ticonderoga.

On October 19, British the commandant at Mt. Independence reported MacKay's arrival at the head of one hundred volunteers and Canadians, adding that other small parties had since come in.⁵ Captain

*Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition*, ap. xlvi.

†*Ibid.*, 133, 134, ap. lxxxiv; Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, 109, 110.

‡*Ibid.*, 115.

⁴Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition*, ap. xcii.

⁵Can. Arch., 1890, 102.

Fraser appeared on the twentieth, bringing with him a copy of the articles of the convention, or surrender, which had occurred three days before. It is said that on the night before the convention was signed, a large number of the remaining provincials, preferring the risks of flight to the conditions of surrender, struck out through the woods for the Quebec country. Colonel Peters throws more light on the flight of the loyalists at this time by declaring in his memorial to Haldimand that he conducted about 117 privates into Canada in the fall of 1777. He further states that he left Burgoyne's camp on October 16, "having that unfortunate General's order, signed by General Philips, to make his escape into Canada, which he had the good fortune to effect, with the greatest difficulty, having his son and a few others, with him." †

That flight involved the fugitive in grave risks is illustrated by the experience of Alexander White of Tryon County, who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy and to suffer twelve months imprisonment at Albany before he could obtain his discharge. He then betook himself to New York City, whence, with the approach of the evacuation, he secured passage to Quebec in the summer of 1783, ‡ thus arriving in Canada six years after his attempted escape.

A large number of Burgoyne's Tory recruits, who nine or ten years later told something of their story to the British Commissioners of loyalist claims in Canada, do not particularize in regard to the time of their escape, contenting themselves with the indefinite statement that they came to Canada "in the fall of 1777," or "after Burgoyne's defeat," or "at the convention."⁴ Others are more explicit, explaining that they were "taken at Saratoga," or "were in the convention," or "had under the convention leave to go to Canada."⁵ Still others say that they came to Canada "after the convention."⁶ A fraction were, to be sure, taken prisoner in the course of the campaign, languished in confinement for a longer or shorter time, and were thus prevented from getting to the desired haven along with the greater number of their loyalist comrades.⁷ Not a few spent more or less of their time in the States for several years after the convention, before settling permanently in their newly adopted country. As late as 1786, it appears that "numbers of

*Kingsford, *History of Canada*, VI., 434.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 215, p. 211.

‡Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. II., 1051.

⁴Ibid., Pt. I, 86, 328, 330, 336, 337, 338, 344, 345, 449, 451, 457, 466, 474, 483; Pt. II, 1002, 1006, 1084, 1267, 1271.

⁵Ibid., Pt. II, 927-8, 949, 953.

⁶Ibid., Pt. I, 386, 421, 445, 457, 466, 474, 483, 484; Pt. II., 940, 942, 943, 944.

⁷Ibid., Pt. I, 329, 351.

loyalists" were still residing in Vermont, and it was said that no objection was made to their presence there.*

As for Sir John Johnson's "Royal Greens," they had no recourse but flight after St. Leger's disastrous attack on Ft. Stanwix on August 3 and 4, 1777. Contrary to the confident expectations of Sir John, the Mohawk Valley loyalists did not flock to his standards to any great extent, and when consternation struck St. Leger's camp, Johnston's corps fled with the rest. Such part of it as was left intact after the precipitate retreat accompanied their leaders back to Oswego and thence to Montreal. Doubtless, the others took their course through the woods to the same point, or to La Chine, whence they had started on the expedition.†

Not only Johnson's and Mackay's corps, but also Peters', Jessup's, McAlpin's, Leake's, and Adams' companies made their way to Canada in greater or less numbers. By December 1, 1777, Captain Mackay was at Montreal, whence he made a return of the loyalists there, explaining that they were "divided into four corps."‡ Four and a half months later, he was at Chateaugay in the angle between the St. Lawrence and the northern boundary of New York with more than seventy of his men.⁴ At the close of January, 1778, Lieutenant Colonel Peters was at La Chine with ninety-four of the Queen's Loyal Rangers.⁵ Captain McAlpin's force in Canada at this time was seventy-eight.⁶ With forty of these he was sent to Sorel in May, 1779, to succeed Sir John Johnson in the command of several corps of loyalists at that post. Thence he wrote to Haldimand that he was forming a company for Captain Robert Leake, and that one of the Jessups had just left for the River St. Francis with thirty men. According to orders, Leake's new company was to consist of eighty men, but by June 3 it had an enrolment of one hundred and forty-six.⁷ Toward the close of August, 1778, Captain William Fraser and his company of forty rangers were at the Isle aux Noix. In the following October a blockhouse was established at Yamaska, a few miles east of Sorel. Here Fraser and his men were placed as a garrison.⁸ Early in September, 1780, Ebenezer Jessup was at Quebec prosecuting a plan to raise a new regiment—the King's Royal Americans—which by the following December numbered

*See 2d Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I, 388, 89.

†Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 249; Sir John Johnson's *Orderly Book*, 97, 98, n.

‡Can. Arch., 1886, 528.

⁴ Haldimand Papers, B. 167, pp. 172, 173.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁷ Can. Arch., 1888, 661, 684; 1887, 442.

⁸ Haldimand Papers, B. 214, p. 55.

about sixty men.* In 1781, Captain Justus Sherwood furnished a complete company for this corps.†

The return of these provincial regiments, which must have been followed closely by numerous other sympathizers with the British cause, was not overlooked by Governor Carleton. In order to supply the refugees with temporary support they were attached to Sir John Johnson's regiment by an order of January 12, 1778, and were directed to obey the orders of their new commander, whether connected with other corps or not. It was specified, however, that those who had surrendered under the terms of the convention of Saratoga were to do no military duty.‡ Toward the end of the following April they were further provided for by a new order of Carleton's, which directed that the sum of £6,460 sterling be paid to Sir John "for the present relief of several corps of Royalists belonging to Gen. Burgoyne's army, and sundry other persons who have taken refuge in this Province," but £1,024 was deducted for provisions issued to them during the previous six months, that is, since the close of Burgoyne's campaign.¹ The corps thus provided for are duly designated in the records that have come down to us, and the strength of each is given in a series of subsistence reports issued at bi-monthly intervals from October 24, 1778, to February 23, 1779. The last of these reports shows that McAlpin's party then consisted of eighty-seven officers and men, Jessup's party, of one hundred and fourteen, Peters' party, of sixty-eight, Leake's party, of one hundred and forty, Adams' party, of thirty-nine, and that there were in addition thirty-seven persons not attached to parties, making a total of 485.⁵ Toward the end of May, 1778, Johnson's regiment, with all those attached, was required to march to Quebec,⁶ evidently on their way to the post at Sorel, with Sir John still in command. We find them here a year later, when McAlpin came to relieve Johnson, in order that the latter might devote himself to completing his regiment. In the meantime, Maclean's corps of Royal Highland Emigrants had made notable headway since the day of its first appearance in Canada. By March 9, 1779, the muster roll of its first battalion showed 616 men, including officers,⁷ many of its recruits having come from Sir John Johnson's old neighborhood in the Mohawk Valley. Maclean's success in completing this battalion was promptly rewarded by a royal order of April 16 that the corps be placed on the regular establishment and numbered

*Can. Arch., 1888, 695.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 222, p. 107.

‡Ibid., 21, 743, pp. 45, 49.

¹ Myers, *The Tories or Loyalists in America*, 51.

⁵ Haldimand Papers, B. 89, pp. 31, 34-37, 46, 48-51, 65-69.

⁶ Ibid., 21, 743, p. 48.

⁷ Ibid., B. 173, p. 29.

the Eighty-fourth Regiment. At the same time, the King directed that each of the ten companies be augmented from fifty privates to seventy, the augmentation to be levied in America.* Nine months later, however, Governor Haldimand wrote to Germaine that he despaired of Maclean's being able to accomplish this increase, and declared that even Sir John Johnson, with all his endeavors, had not succeeded in completing his first battalion.†

Despite this discouraging report, the depleted ranks of the various loyalist corps that had been in active service now began to fill with the numbers of Tories arriving in Canada. The largest additions appear to have been made by Johnson's Royal Greens‡ and Jessup's Royal Americans,§ but Maclean's first battalion of the Eighty-fourth Regiment,¶ McAlpin's American Volunteers,¶ Peters' Queen's Loyal Rangers,⁷ and doubtless other corps received accessions. But the corps were not left to be augmented merely by volunteer enlistment. Their commanding officers were soon given permission to send recruiting parties to the colonies, and this method was constantly employed during the remainder of the war. Its success will be sufficiently illustrated in connection with Jessup's corps. In July, 1780, according to report, several loyalists were collecting men beyond the borders of Canada.⁸ In the following December, Colonel Ebenezer Jessup, who had already secured a considerable enrolment for his new regiment, was authorized to complete it, and a month later to send men into the colonies for that purpose.⁹ Major Edward Jessup, the brother of Ebenezer, was urging a continuation of the practice in January, 1782, and in the following May was able to report a complement of seven companies of "more than 66 complete" (in each company, I suppose he means, at the same time asking permission to form another with John Waltermire as captain, John Ruiter as lieutenant, and Hermanus Best as ensign.¹⁰ But evidently the organization of new companies did not stop here, for in June the Major sent a letter to Quebec containing a list of proposed officers for two other companies. These were filled during the next four months, a fact evidenced by another letter,

*Haldimand Papers, B. 50, p. 80.

†Ibid., B. 54, pp. 284-286.

‡Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 352, 357, 369, 370, 386, 419, 428, 439, 449, 459, 479, 575; Pt. II., 940, 942, 1268.

⁴Ibid., Pt. I, 329, 330, 337, 338, 383, 423, 451, 467; Pt. II, 923, 1002, 1006, 1091.

⁵Ibid., Pt. I, 371; Pt. II, 953.

⁶Ibid., Pt. I, 414, 457.

⁷Ibid., Pt. I, 328; Pt. II, 1268.

⁸Can. Arch., 1888, 649.

⁹Ibid., 692; 1887, 376.

¹⁰Ibid., 1888, 699, 701.

on October 6, announcing that the corps of Royal Americans was "more than complete." Nevertheless, small parties of recruits for Jessup's corps continued to arrive at the Isle aux Noix and Dutchman's Point as late as March, 1783. With the approach of summer, the regiment experienced a slight loss in numbers, this deficiency being made up by despatching thirty of the men from the Yamaska blockhouse to the Isle aux Noix in June. Judging from the correspondence of the time, the companies under Major Jessup had their headquarters at Verchères, on the east bank of the St. Lawrence, while those under Colonel Jessup were stationed at St. Johns and the neighboring posts. Toward the close of November the corps was ordered disbanded.

While recruiting was being carried on vigorously to complete and to maintain at full strength the existing loyalist regiments, new corps were also being organized. On May 1, 1779, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Rogers was commissioned by Sir Henry Clinton "to raise two battalions of able bodied rangers." Rogers was recommended to Haldimand, and in July asked the latter to grant passports to his officers for the purpose of obtaining recruits in Quebec. Two months later, the Governor General frankly informed Rogers that his officers were "only losing time in Quebec, owing to the number of new levies not being yet completed in spite of every exertion to get the loyalists to join." He also advised the Colonel to go back to Penobscot where the latter claimed to have a force of seven hundred recruits. But, later on, Haldimand permitted Colonel Rogers' brother, Major James Rogers, to enlist men for one of the proposed battalions, on condition that his operations should be confined to the colonies. In order to complete three companies, recruiting parties were sent to Gloucester, the Green Mountains, and Charlotte and Cumberland counties in August 1780. Women and children were brought in along with the men, of whom one hundred and thirty-three joined Rogers at St. Johns during the next three months in a state of nakedness and great want. In January, 1782, this detachment, which was called the King's Rangers, numbered one hundred and ninety-three men, the officers being Azariah Pritchard, and Henry Ruiter, in addition to Major Rogers. To the end of April, 1783, the battalion formed part of the garrison at St. Johns, then was made a source of supply of men for service aboard the fleet on Lake Champlain, until the general order for the disbandment of the provincial corps was received in November.*

Another corps or company, first organized in July, 1781, was that of John W. Myers, who had previously acted as a recruiting sergeant for Rogers' detachment. Myers engaged his men in the colonies,

*Can. Arch., 1888, 673-682; 1887, 446, 542, 544, 551, 552; 1886, 404; Haldimand Papers, B. 167, 338-341.

and brought into St. Johns at one time the greater part of a company, which he afterwards increased, seeking permission, like many another loyalist officer, to send agents beyond the Canadian boundary for the purpose. In the official correspondence of the time it is expressly stated that Myers' men were mustered as a company "separate from Rogers' corps."*

The zeal for recruiting did not abate until the end of the contest. As late as April, 1783, Major General Riedesel, then commandant at Sorel, was urging upon Haldimand the importance of recruiting operations by the various corps, which, he said, were "almost indispensable" in carrying on the fortifications, the scouting, and the secret service.† As a matter of fact, it was not more than four months after this that Haldimand, compelled by the approaching cessation of hostilities, sent out orders to the loyalist officers to cease recruiting.

From the preceding pages, it will be seen that much of the loyalist immigration into Canada was military in character; these Tories came in larger or smaller parties under recognized leaders for the purpose of joining the King's forces. Moreover, it is clear that this phase of the movement continued throughout the war. Not all of the refugee recruits, to be sure, made their way directly to the region north of the states of New York and Vermont. A great part of them entered the Canadian country west of the St. Lawrence and were quartered at various places on that side of the river; but, sooner or later, almost without exception they were sent across the river to garrison the posts along the Richelieu and at other points, to strengthen and enlarge the fortifications of this region, to help defend the country from invasion, to carry on scouting and secret service to the south, and to take part in expeditions into the enemy's country. The effect of Burgoyne's campaign was undoubtedly to stimulate the Tory movement into this section of Canada, both by stirring up the hostility of the revolutionists against the adherents of the Crown to a greater pitch than ever, and by increasing the activity of the loyalist corps in recruiting.

Of course, we cannot suppose that all the loyalists who entered Canada previous to Burgoyne's campaign came as actual or prospective members of the provincial regiments then forming. There must have been many, then and later, who entered unnoticed, settled in sundry communities where they could take up the usual course of their life with as little interruption as possible, or shifted about as their necessities required. We hear of such a group living at Sorel

*Can. Arch., 1888, 692, 695-699.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 138, p. 198.

from the beginning of the war,* and we know from an endless array of notices, memorials, and petitions preserved in the official correspondence of the time that the peaceful element among the refugees, including Quaker loyalists, was much larger than can ever be traced. By the middle of January, 1776, the number of unincorporated refugees with Sir John Johnson's corps was already sufficiently large to require the attention of the authorities at Quebec.† Doubtless the other loyalists regiments had their share of dependent refugees, even at this early date. That they had later is apparent from the official enumerations of loyalists, incorporated and unincorporated, at the various posts, these enumerations extending from July 1, 1779, to September 15, 1784.

The enumeration of July, as well as several succeeding it, is confined to loyalist individuals and families receiving provisions from the King's stores without charge, and cannot be regarded therefore as a complete census of all the loyalists at these posts. Among others, it gives sixty-eight as the number at Sorel, twenty-seven at Chambly, and two hundred and nine at St. Johns. By October 24, there was a falling off of about thirty at St. Johns, while the figures for the other two places remain relatively stationary.‡ A week later, or November 1st, a report of the number of loyalists in military service at the posts was issued. This, by comparison, is found to be supplementary to the enumeration just preceding. It gives one hundred and forty-eight officers and men for Sorel, thirty-six for Yamaska, forty-four for St. Johns, and omits Chambly altogether.⁴ During the next three years, there was a marked increase in the number of families resorting for gratuitous food and shelter to the posts and depots within the old district of Montreal on both sides of the River St. Lawrence. On November 24, 1780, this number, which was distributed at seventeen different points, was 1,368. Ten months later it had reached 1,449, at nine places; by January 24, 1782, it had risen to 1,699, distributed at fourteen different localities, and by March 24, 1783, it had attained the maximum, so far as our statistics go, namely, 1,716, distributed again at seventeen posts and magazines, the next "return," four months later, showing a decline of about forty. It goes without saying that the principal forts in the territory southeast of the St. Lawrence—the region we are concerned with here—shared in this increase of homeless exiles.⁵ Many of these persons were from Char-

*Haldimand Papers, B. 138, p. 367.

†Can. Arch., 1885, 252.

‡Haldimand Papers, B. 166, pp. 9, 10, 14, 15, 32.

⁴Ibid., p. 45.

⁵Haldimand Papers, B. 148, pp. 155, 157, 164, 169, 170; B. 166, pp. 46, 83, 96, 127, 129.

lotte and Tryon counties and the City of Albany, in New York State, while a smaller proportion of them came from New England.

The lull in this invasion was not to last long, if lull there was. By August 6, 1783, the foremost vessels of the fleet of nine transports, which was to bring in over seven hundred loyalists from New York and its environs, were passing up the St. Lawrence on their way from Quebec to Sorel. New York was then in process of evacuation, and so continued for the next four months. When the first transports arrived at Quebec, Haldimand discovered to his alarm that the smallpox had broken out among the passengers. Without delay he sent a physician to Sorel with proper assistance for their relief, and instructions to take every precaution to prevent the spread of the contagion among the inhabitants. He also directed Abraham Cuyler, formerly mayor of Albany, but now a refugee serving as inspector of loyalists in the province, to visit that post for the purpose of seeing that those newly arrived were adequately lodged and otherwise provided for. At the same time, he sent a message announcing the arrival of another transport with loyalists, which he said, would proceed immediately to Sorel.* The last vessel of the fleet arrived at Quebec on August 29.† In a letter to Lord North two days before, Haldimand referred to the "arrival of 700 from New York," and spoke in anticipation of measures for their relief and surveys for their settlement in different parts of the province.‡ Meanwhile, the sick, who had been removed from the fleet, were isolated in the hospital, vaccinated, and soon convalescing to the satisfaction of all concerned. A report sent to Haldimand stated that the whole body of loyalists at Sorel seemed contented and pleased with their present situation.⁴ The size of this body, which was duplicated by similar companies at Montreal and other posts on the St. Lawrence, appears from a census taken five months later. This showed approximately seven hundred persons, of whom one hundred and eighty-five were men, one hundred and thirty-five women, and the rest children—together duly recorded as desirous of settling in Canada.⁵ About the middle of October two additional transports arrived from New York, bringing Captain VanAlstine and one hundred and eighty-two other loyalists, men, women and children, who were quartered at Sorel.⁶

*Haldimand Papers. B. 139, pp. 349, 350; Gov. Haldimand to Col. Macbean, Aug. 16, 1783; same to same, Aug. 25, 1783.

†Ibid., B. 148, p. 176.

‡Ibid., B. 57-2, pp. 564, 565.

⁴ Ibid., III., B. 138, p. 343; Macbean to Haldimand, Sept. 8, 1783.

⁵ Ibid., B. 168, p. 7.

⁶ Ibid., B. 148, pp. 174; B. 216, pp. 64, 65, 67-69; B. 165, p. 157.

The enlisted refugees at Sorel, Verchères, St. Ours, Chambly, and St. Johns were numerically a less constant factor than their military brethren, and especially the loyalist women and their families. The men belonging to the loyalist corps at these and the neighboring posts were constantly called into requisition for scouting, secret service, and recruiting parties. Such service had its peculiar temptations, especially towards the end of the war, for complaint was made of a disposition among the loyalist soldiers to desert; and Haldimand found it necessary, in the spring of 1783, to forbid officers to send parties of them into the colonies without the special permission of the commander-in-chief, and he also warned the loyalists themselves that any who should presume to leave the province without permission would be deemed deserters and punished accordingly.*

That the families of those who withdrew from uncongenial soil accompanied them in many cases, or were led out at an early opportunity in other cases, there can be no doubt.† In numerous other instances, however, families of refugee loyalists were brought into Canada under flags of truce, a system that was in operation on Lake Champlain from the fall of 1778, if not earlier. This method made practicable the exchange of dependents and prisoners of war, and was regularly employed throughout the remainder of the contest. As the British were in control of the lake, their vessels and batteaux were in constant requisition for the conveyance of aggregations of families from Pointe au Fer, Mill Bay, Skenesborough, Crown Point, and other convenient places to St. Johns, whence they were sent under guidance to various localities to join husbands and fathers from whom they had been separated by the exigencies of war. We hear of the arrival of Messrs. Campbell and Stevens at St. Johns about September 20, 1778, under a flag of truce with a loyalist party of eighteen, partly made up of their own families.‡ Three days later, a number of families arrived from Albany and the Connecticut River, and were at once placed in charge of scouts to be conducted to Sorel.⁴ About the middle of the following July a similar group, who had recently come under flag to St. Johns from Bennington, in southwestern Vermont, were sent to join their connections, some of whom were in the immediate neighborhood, the others being at Sorel.⁵ Once more, about September 1, St. Johns served as a gateway to Canada for loyal-

*Haldimand Papers, B. 139, pp. 368, 421; unsigned letter to Gen. Riedesel, Dec. 9, 1782; Haldimand to Riedesel, Mar. 13, 1783.

†Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I, 86, 329, 444,

‡Can. Arch., 1887, 338.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 344.

ist women and children led in by two men, probably under the white flag.* Early in March, 1780, a flag arrived at Point au Fer "with 20 sleighs, bringing in seventy-three men, women and children, exclusive of drivers."² The letter containing this information adds in post-script that thirty-two persons had just arrived.† Another letter announcing the arrival of families is that of William Fraser to his sons, Captain William, Jr., and Thomas, who were stationed at the Yamaska blockhouse near Sorel. It is dated "Near Ft. George, May 10, 1780," and as the location of the sons was unknown to the parent, the missive was simply addressed to them in the "Province of Canada." The revelation of the hardships endured by these fugitives is so typical of the trials of this class in their efforts to reach relatives and friends, who had already claimed the protection of the land of refuge, that the Fraser letter is deserving of more than passing notice. It told the sons that their mother, wives, and children were in good health that their father had got permission in the previous fall to remove to Canada, had sold off a great part of his moveables, but, being delayed, had obtained a pass to send on the women and children. However, the drivers of the two sleds employed for the purpose had found the creeks unfrozen and the roads bad, and had left the party at Lake George, except Mrs. Fraser, Sr., and one of the boys, who had returned with the sleds. The letter went on to say that when the ground had become settled Mr. Fraser secured a wagon to take Mrs. Fraser back to the party, in the expectation of a flag from Canada as soon as the lake should be open, but that they had waited so long that they had almost given up hope. The letter stated further that they were living chiefly at the expense of the poor loyalists and closed with the pathetic appeal; "I have Turn'd myself out of Doors for y'r sakes and for God's sake Don't you Neglect us But Do y'r Best to get us into Canada."‡ It is pleasant to know that these people reached their destination, found their relatives, and that the aged father was granted a pension, albeit a small one, for his loyalty. Protected by the symbol of amity, additional families from the colonies were brought to St. Johns about September 10,⁴ and others were sent back from Pointe au Fer in the following month with a letter to the commanding officer at Albany.⁵ In May, 1781, Colonel Tupper wrote from the latter place that he was sending in women and children who wished to join their husbands and fathers and that he trusted that those in Canada would

* *Can. Arch.*, 1887, 346.

† *Ibid.*, 347.

‡ *Haldimand Papers*, B. 214, p. 190.

⁴ *Can. Arch.*, 1887, 350.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 352.

be returned in exchange.* On July 4, the ship *Carlton* reported the arrival of a flag of truce with families at Crown Point. The group comprised twenty-five persons and was taken to St. Johns.† A month later, other families received on board the *Trumbull* were sent in.‡ The Quebec authorities now ordered the families and prisoners of the enemy, detained in Montreal and other posts, to be assembled at St. Johns for deportation to Skenesborough under Major Fay and William Marsh. It required six batteaux to carry Marsh's contingent of one hundred and seventeen people, old and young, and he returned, on September 14, with one hundred and thirteen in exchange, belonging to twenty-three loyalist families, eight being men, twenty-three women, and eighty-two children.⁴ Early in October, the *Trumbull* was dispatched to Crown Point to fetch in the Rev. John Stuart, who was waiting there under a flag of truce with fourteen women and thirty-nine children.⁵ At the end of May, 1783, two groups of families were sent to St. Johns, one under a flag from New York State, the other under similar protection from Vermont. It was officially reported at the same time that "about 200 more" were already assembled at Skenesborough awaiting conveyance and that others were "expected every day."⁶ In the following November, Dr. George Smyth and Mr. Man went to the States with a number of families and prisoners for exchange, and the latter is known to have returned with some.⁷

It would be easy to supplement the above list with many other instances, but a sufficient number has been cited to indicate the frequency of recourse to flags of truce along the shores of Lake Champlain, and the facility thus afforded to loyalist families to reunite in the land of their refuge. It is no exaggeration to say that these fatherless groups took full advantage of their opportunities in the open season during the greater part of the Revolution, flocking in like parties of summer excursionists, and sometimes braving the severities of a northern winter in their eagerness to leave behind the land of their sorrows and fears and reach the goal of safety and loyalty, where fugitive or exiled kindred were already awaiting them.

However the white flag was not the only means of rescuing loyalists from their land of bondage. Governor Haldimand ordered incursions of the Mohawk Valley with the definite purpose of affording such persons

*Can. Arch., 1887, 364.

†Ibid., 1887, 499.

‡Ibid., 500.

⁴ Ibid., 322, 334, 502, 335, 360, 361.

⁵ Ibid., 503, 362; 1888, 808.

⁶ Ibid., 1887, 506.

⁷ Ibid., 509.

an opportunity to escape. On March 17, 1780, an appeal of loyalists at Johnstown, New York, was forwarded to Haldimand, in which they asked for a pilot to lead them into Canada. They declared that otherwise they would be compelled to join the enemy, or, refusing, would be sent to Albany in irons, whilst their property was confiscated and their houses destroyed. The Governor communicated this to Sir John Johnson at Montreal a few days later, saying that he would send a vessel "to the lake" early in May to receive these unhappy people.* In reply Sir John proposed an expedition by way of Lake Champlain to Gillisland, or Split Rock, and thence to his own estates in order "to encourage loyalists to come off and to distress the enemy."† The date fixed for the departure of the expedition from St. Johns was about May third.‡ The forces under Sir John's command numbered fifteen regular and twenty-eight men, comprising some British soldiers, "a detachment of his own regiment of Royal Grens, and about two hundred Indians and Tories."⁴ The invaders were carried by vessel to West Bay, where they landed on May 11, thence to proceed through the woods to Johnstown. This march they accomplished in ten days, moving with such secrecy that they completely surprised the inhabitants, except the resident loyalists at whose instance they had come.⁵ The expedition was entirely successful, and by June 3, Sir John was back at St. Johns, having brought off one hundred and fifty loyalists and many prisoners.⁶ He also brought off eight negroes, whom he permitted the Indians to dispose of to "inhabitants of Montreal and others."⁷ Apparently, the entire body of rescued loyalists accompanied their liberator on his return to Montreal, and most of them promptly enlisted in his regiment.⁸ But, according to Brigadier General Allan Maclean, commandant at this place, about forty of them declined to join any corps. He, therefore, suggested to Haldimand's secretary the propriety of putting them in prison, on the score that "such a number of loose, idle fellows" were a menace to the community.⁹ This Haldimand refused to allow, saying that some employment would be found for them.¹⁰ But, according to Sir John's report of June 12th, these unincorporated loyalists were already earning

*Can. Arch., 1887, 347; (Maj. Carleton to Haldimand). Ibid., 1888, 663; (Haldimand to Sir John Johnson.)

†Can. Arch., 1888, 648.

‡Ibid., 649.

⁴ Ibid., 1887, 493; Stone, *Border Wars of the Am. Rev.*, II, 71.

⁵ Stone, *Border Wars of the Am. Rev.*, II., 72.

⁶ Can. Arch., 1887, 474, 546.

⁷ Ibid., 1888, 649.

⁸ Ibid., 649.

⁹ Can. Arch., 1887, 300.

¹⁰ Ibid., 318.

their own livelihood, and, with the exception of a few, were costing the government nothing.*

At least two later expeditions in behalf of loyalists were authorized by Haldimand, one of which was carried into execution in the autumn of 1780 and the other a year later. The earlier of these, like the one above narrated, was suggested, planned, and led by Sir John Johnson, and was evidently intended by him to bring in a fresh supply of recruits. Sir John was now engaged in raising his second battalion; † and, although he had sent several loyalists into the States to collect men in the latter part of July, he wrote to Haldimand, August 10: "Recruits cannot be expected from the Colonies unless a force be sent to encourage them to come off." A party of fifteen recruits came in from the Mohawk ten days later, and reported that more would have come but for the approach of the hostile Oneida Indians. ‡ Meantime, similar parties were constantly arriving at St. Johns and Chambly, and continued to do so during the fall of 1780.⁴ Some of these men were destined to fill the ranks of Johnson's corps; nevertheless, there seemed to be sufficient reason for sending out the proposed expedition, and, September 9, Haldimand wrote to Sir Henry Clinton that he had ordered a detachment of six hundred picked troops, together with a contingent of Indians, to march from Oswego to Schenectady in order "to destroy the crops and favour the escape of the loyalists."⁵ At this time Sir John and his troops were at La Chine, near Montreal, preparing to pass up the St. Lawrence to Oswego.⁶ By October 1, he was at the latter place awaiting the arrival of a body of Butler's Rangers and another of Mohawks under Chief Brant from Fort Niagara. When ready to move Johnson's forces, according to Stone,⁷ consisted of three companies of his own regiment of Greens, one company of German Yagers, another of British regulars, and the Niagara contingents just mentioned. We are not concerned here with the incidents of the expedition, except to note that it failed in its primary object, that is, the securing of a considerable body of recruits. Johnson's explanation was that the "loyalists and others had been forced into the forts, so that men could not be got." But he left behind a few trusty guides to bring in such recruits as they might collect, and reported that one of these "had gone off with 20 or 30 men from the back of Conojoharie." After com-

**Can. Arch.*, 1888, 649.

†*Ibid.*, 1888, 648.

‡*Ibid.*, 650.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1887, 350-354, Aug. 20, 23, 27, 30; Sept. 3, 6, 10; Oct. 4, 16, 19, 22; Nov. 1, 22, 25.

⁵ *Can. Arch.*, 1887, 547.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1888, 651.

⁷ *Border Wars of the Am. Rev.*, II. 105.

pleting the devastation of the Schoharie and Mohawk country above Schenectady, Sir John retreated to Carleton Island in the River St. Lawrence near Lake Ontario, thence returning to his headquarters at Montreal at the end of October.*

Simultaneously with these movements of Sir John, and partly as a diversion in his favour, operations were carried on against the settlements south of Lake George and those on the upper Connecticut. The parties engaged in these operations were sent out from St. Johns at the end of September, 1780, under Majors Carleton and Houghton,[†] and are said to have comprised more than a thousand men, including regular troops, loyalists and Indians. The Lake George region was the scene of Carleton's activities, and supplied a considerable number of loyalist families who accompanied this officer back to Crown Point after his destruction of Fort George. To bring in these loyalists, who appear to have gathered "from different parts of the country," batteaux were sent to Carleton at Miller's Bay (probably Mill Bay) in the latter part of October. During the following month, refugee families and recruits continued to arrive at St. Johns, whence Major Carleton wrote to Haldimand, November 26, of the expected return of Ensign McDonell with a collection of families he had been sent for, numbering "about 230 souls."[‡]

The success of these expeditions in rescuing loyalists, while not uniform, cannot be gainsaid. Nevertheless, the results thus attained are not comparable with the results secured through the activities of the small scouting and recruiting parties that were constantly despatched into the enemy's country from the frontier posts up to the very close of the Revolution. The incentive to these recruiting activities lay, of course, in the presence of the loyalist corps in Canada. As long as the ranks of these corps remained unfilled or suffered depletion, men were needed to fill them. By employing all the means at his command, that is, by enlisting such fugitives as presented themselves, by sending out recruiting parties, and by conducting rescue expeditions, Sir John Johnson had made such rapid progress in organizing his first battalion that as early as 1778, he felt justified in asking Haldimand's permission to form a second.[§] But on account of various difficulties the matter hung fire until Sir John delivered the hundred and fifty loyalists from Johnstown, New York, in May, 1780. Apparently in recognition of this success, Governor Haldimand added the desired

*Can. Arch., 1888, 652.

†Ibid., 1887, 351; Stone, *Border Wars of the Am. Rev.*, II. 130.

‡Can. Arch., 1887, 352.

§Ibid., 354.

¶Can. Arch., 1888, 648.

second battalion to the King's Royal Regiment of New York, placing it under Johnson's command, with Captain John Ross as major.³ This action was taken in the latter part of July. As the death of Major Daniel McAlpin, adjutant of the several provincial corps at Sorel, occurred at this time, his men were encouraged to join Sir John's regiment,[†] and probably many of them entered the second battalion.[‡] It is also probable that the men enrolled by Jeremiah French were incorporated with this battalion.⁴ By the end of November, Sir John was able to make the assertion that he had enlisted "upwards of a thousand men," meaning, doubtless, from the beginning of the war.⁵

Meanwhile, a part of the second battalion under Major Ross, Captain Robert Leake's Independent Company from Sorel, and other troops were sent to Carleton Island.⁶ In September, 1781, Ross received instructions concerning an intended expedition to the Mohawk River and frontiers of Pennsylvania, in which he and his forces were to participate in connection with troops and Indians from Niagara.⁷ Toward the end of the same month, Haldimand wrote to inform Sir Henry Clinton of this incursion, explaining that it was partly to coerce Vermont into loyalty and partly to "afford loyalists an opportunity to escape from the oppression they labour under."⁸ On October 4th, Ross with two hundred and fifty troops and about sixty Indians, according to an official report of the time, left Carleton Island for Oswego, where he was joined by the contingent from Niagara under Captain Walter N. Butler, with but few Indians and these of such a character that Ross described them as "the refuse of different tribes."⁹ From Oswego the march inland began on the 11th, and was accompanied by the usual devastation of the enemy's country until Johnstown was reached on the 25th, when Colonel Willett and his Continentals engaged the invaders and forced them to retreat. It was during this retreat that Walter Butler was killed, and Lieutenant Dockstetter, another loyalist, met

*Can. Arch., 1888, 663, 665, 723; 1887, 444.

†Ibid., 1888, 665, 661; 1887, 442.

‡Ibid., 1888, 653, 655.

³ Ibid., 670, 699.

⁵ Can. Arch., 1888, 653.

⁶ Ibid., 667.

⁷ Ibid., 1887, 248, 249.

⁸ Ibid., 553.

⁹ Ibid., 283, 284. The numbers given by Stone and Campbell are much larger than those quoted above: Stone says the expedition consisted of "four companies of the second battalion . . ., Colonel Butler's rangers, under the direction of Major Butler, his son, and two hundred Indians; numbering in all, about one thousand men, under the command of Major Ross." (*Border Wars of the Am. Rev.*, II., 168). Campbell reduces the number to 607 men, "477 British and Tories, and 130 Indians." (*Border Warfare of New York*, 208.)

his death in the woods. But there is no evidence to show that the retiring force drew a following of Tories in its wake.

Scarcely more than a week after Ross's expedition had left Oswego, the surrender of Cornwallis occurred at Yorktown, and his army of more than seven thousand men became prisoners of war. In the gloom of this disaster the Canadians entertained fresh anticipations of an attack on Canada.* A frontier officer wrote to Haldimand that "only powerful alliances or a miracle" could save the country. Scouts and patrols were sent out from Sorel and Yamaska, as well as from the more advanced posts, while recruiting parties were not permitted to terminate their efforts until late in the summer of 1783.†

Meantime, the need of establishing the loyalists in permanent settlements was becoming more and more urgent. In October, 1778, Haldimand had established a loyalist colony at Machiche, on the north side of Lake St. Peter. In November of the year following, Maclean wrote to Quebec that he was being so plagued with "royalists real and pretended" at Montreal that he wished Governor Haldimand would have them all removed to "Mappish" (Machiche) or Pointe du Lac, which was near by, as they were "doing no good" where they were.‡ His protest—which was more forcible than elegant in its language—secured prompt attention at the seat of government, and Maclean was accordingly commanded to send a part of his troublesome loyalists to join Captain McAlpin's Royal Americans at St. Ours, on the east side of the St. Lawrence. At first the persons selected for removal raised objection, on the score of their inability to pay for the conveyance of their families. When this objection was met and conveyance was provided, they flatly refused to go "to the number of 36 besides Women and Children," according to Maclean's report. Whether this attempted removal was intended to be a temporary arrangement merely, or the beginning of a permanent settlement of loyalists within the territory between the St. Lawrence and the New York boundary is a matter of doubt.

In the fall of 1778, Haldimand had recommended to the English government the purchase of the Seigniorship of Sorel with the object of strengthening the post and garrison there, deeming the situation of great advantage. This matter continued to be a subject of correspondence between the Governor and Lord George Germaine to the end of March, 1782, when Haldimand received definite instructions from the Lords of the Treasury regarding the purchase, which he was authorized to make.⁴ Several months before this decision was reached, Captain

*Can. Arch., 1887, 390, ff.

†Ibid., 1888, 728, 729, 730, 618, 619.

‡Haldimand Papers, B, 129, p. 56; B, 131, p. 41.

⁴Can. Arch., 1885, 324, 330, 278, 281, 291, 315.

Brehm suggested the Sorel district as an available place for a settlement of loyalists. Stationed at Montreal, the Captain had ample opportunity to observe the hardships endured by the inhabitants among whom the refugees were quartered. He called Haldimand's attention to the fact that the citizens were required to furnish the loyalists with firewood and with carriages when they moved, while the government would be burdened with the expense of their subsistence until the war should close. He therefore inquired about the feasibility of granting these people tracts of land "either on Lake St. Francis or at the places called the Mullinets and Milles Roches," where they might build their own houses and cultivate their own lands. He spoke particularly of the number of women and children belonging to the men of Sir John Johnson's corps, and suggested the possibility of giving them lands in the Seigniorie of Sorel, where they might live independently, even while the men were absent on military service. This, he thought, would be in keeping with the Governor's idea of a military colony to protect the frontier.*

The suggestions of Captain Brehm anticipated by about a year and a half the royal instructions relative to the settlement of Sorel. These instructions were received by Haldimand in the summer of 1783, and formed a part of the general instructions for the allotment of lands to such refugee loyalists as were desirous of becoming settlers in the Province of Quebec. Lands were also to be assigned to any non-commissioned officers and privates of the King's forces, who had been reduced in the province and were prepared to settle there. The special provisions relating to Sorel called attention to the expediency of a prompt settlement of that seigniorie by as many persons of approved loyalty as possible, and directed Governor Haldimand to assign small allotments of the disposable lands of the district to non-commissioned officers, privates, and other loyalists. The size of the allotments was left to the discretion of the Governor-General.†

Soon after the above instructions were received, the contingent of seven hundred loyalists from New York landed at Sorel, and were given temporary lodgings at that post until they should be sent out to form their permanent settlements in various localities. Among these was Captain Alexander White, late sheriff of Tryon County, who had been in charge of the associates aboard the transport *Blacket*.‡ Many of the New Yorkers, including Captain White, were attracted by the advantages of their new location in a region already populous, with an excellent harbor on the St. Lawrence, a fine frontage on the River Chambly or Richelieu, and an abundance of government land to be

*Haldimand Papers, B. 74, p. 299; *Can. Arch.*, 1886, 544.

†Third Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., 1905, lxii, lxiii, lxiv.

‡See *ante*, p. 19.

had for the asking. White and his fellow exiles, of whom a large part were mechanics and tradesmen, believed that if a town were established at Sorel, the place would soon become a center of trade, industry, and shipbuilding. Accordingly, at the end of March, 1784, White applied to Haldimand for grants of land for himself and his associates, evidently on condition that a town should be provided. The applicant received a prompt reply that his request for land would be cheerfully complied with, but that the situation of a town would "necessarily require consideration." * Despite this indefinite understanding, White and a number of others decided to remain and take up farm lots, apparently believing that the town would be laid out within a few months.

In May, 1784, John Collins, who was deputy surveyor-general, was sent to Sorel to distribute lots to a few loyalists whose names were specified, and to such others as wanted lands for actual occupation; but he was not to grant to any one more than a single lot of sixty acres. When a town site should be determined upon, mechanics and tradesmen who had settled on farm lots were each to be allowed a town lot. With the exception of Major Jessup, his son-in-law, Mr. Walker, Captain Barnes, Captain Gleissenberg, and Lieutenant French, each of whom was assigned a lot, all settlers were to draw for their lots. They might afterwards exchange these among themselves, if they wished. Similar settlements were established at Chambly and St. Johns within the region southeast of the St. Lawrence, while many other colonies were established outside of this region. A census of the number of disbanded troops and loyalists settled on crown lands in the Province of Quebec, including the St. Lawrence townships, during the year 1784 shows approximately 5,500. Of these settlers, less than eight hundred received royal grants in the neighborhood of the three posts named above, namely, 316 at Sorel, 66 at Chambly, and 375 at St. Johns. †

Of the subsequent history of the refugee settlers at St. Johns and Chambly we know nothing. Of those who took up lands at Sorel we catch some later glimpses. When Deputy Surveyor-General Collins distributed lots to the loyalists at this post in the spring of 1784, the site of the proposed town had not yet been chosen, as we have seen above. Nor had it been when Haldimand withdrew from the governor-generalship in the middle of the following November. Then, for almost two years the administration was conducted by temporary appointees in the persons of Henry Hamilton and Colonel Henry Hope. Neither of these officials took it upon himself to establish a town at Sorel. But soon after the arrival of Lord Dorchester (Sir Guy Carleton) as governor general, October 23, 1786, some forty of White's associates made known

*Haldimand Papers, B. 165, pp. 136, 137.

†Ibid., 21, 829, pp. 100, 111.

to his lordship their great disappointment in not securing a town, and ventured to remind him that he had commissioned their leader to fetch them from New York to the province in which they now found themselves without lands or tools enough for farming, and without the opportunity of following their former occupations. Encouraged by the kindly treatment they had received from Dorchester in the past, these memorialists did not close their petition until they had revealed the whole list of grievances: they told him of the departure from Sorel of many good tradesmen; of the complete stoppage of their provisions since September 1, 1786; of the favoritism shown, as they alleged, in the distribution of clothing; of their lack of farming implements, live stock, and tillable land; of their inability to obtain things on credit any longer, since that was gone; of the granting of lots to people who, they said, had no right to them; and, finally, bringing up again their chief grievance, they besought Dorchester to order that a town be laid out for them.

During the preceding summer, these and other grievances of the refugees at Sorel had been aired before a board of commissioners, which Lieutenant Governor Hope had appointed to investigate disturbing conditions in several loyalist settlements. These commissioners had reported, among other things, that Governor Haldimand had held out to such tradesmen as should settle at Sorel that a town would be established and a town lot granted to each, and that the "annual expectation" of this town lot had induced many persons to remain loitering about with nothing better to do than take up imaginary grievances and jealousies.

Doubtless this report became known to Lord Dorchester, and, thereby seemed to call for another statement from those with whom it dealt. At any rate, such a statement was forthcoming in December, 1786. It represented that the settlers had fully expected the town to be laid out in 1784, and a supply of materials for building, utensils, and other things to be furnished at the same time. It declared that Haldimand's intention was to give such assistance as would make Sorel "a city, or at least a trading town." It complained that the settlers had not yet received the deeds for their farm lots. It repeated the earlier complaints about the poor quality of their land, their lack of farming tools, and their dire need of food and clothing. It closed with an appeal for such relief as would keep the petitioners and their fellow-sufferers from perishing. There can be no doubt that Dorchester, always the friend of the loyalists, answered this memorial with the relief asked; and the accompanying plan shows that he took prompt measures to establish the town, which the refugees at Sorel needed so sorely from the beginning.*

*Bundle "Grievances of the Loyalists at Sorel" in the Dominion Archives, at Ottawa, Ont.

If the year 1784 was the first of several years of disappointment for the settlers at Sorel, it was a year of fulfilment of hopes for hundreds of other loyalists, who had made their headquarters at this and other stations on and off the Richelieu River. Numbers of these people departed from this region to form settlements at more or less remote points in Upper and Lower Canada. Thus, by the end of April, 1784, Captain William Fraser and his Royal Rangers from Yamaska were moving to Montreal, to be forwarded by way of La Chine* to the upper country on the west side of the St. Lawrence. During the following month, Sorel was astir with preparations for the early departure of one large party under Messrs. Van Alstine and Grass up the St. Lawrence to Cataragui (Kingston), and of another down the river to the Bay of Chaleurs.† At the same time, St. Johns was the scene of similar activities on the part of the provincial corps under Majors Jessup and Rogers which were soon to settle on the great river in what are now the counties of Leeds, Grenville, and Addington, and in the country about the Bay of Quinté in the Province of Ontario.‡

Despite this exodus of provincial troops, it must not be supposed that the only loyalists who found homes within the region the rangers were now leaving were the eight hundred at St. Johns, Chambly, and Sorel. Doubtless, many others had settled quietly in various communities long before the British government took any steps to compensate American Tories for their adherence, losses, or services. Indeed, there were numbers of "ministerial tools"—as they were sometimes dubbed by their foes—who deliberately chose their abodes in localities that Haldimand expressly wished them to shun. To the Governor General's mind, the Canadian frontier along the New York boundary was unsuited to loyalist occupation. In September, 1782, he had—in his own words—"received letters from Vermont and the Colonies" reporting that a number of families, rebel as well as loyalist, were coming to settle on the borders of Lake Champlain. He disapproved of this because, he said, it would afford means of conveying news to the enemy, and create a rendezvous for deserters and rebel emissaries. He therefore undertook, early in November, 1782, to discourage the project by sending word into the States that nothing of the kind would be permitted.⁴ One of those who helped to make known this prohibition was Captain Justus Sherwood, who was in command of some loyalists at Dutchman's Point. On April 4, 1783, the Captain wrote to the authorities at Quebec that he had taken

*Haldimand Papers, B. 138, p. 370.

†Ibid., pp. 374, 379, 383.

‡Leavitt, *Hist. of Leeds and Grenville, Ont.*, 16-20, 167.

⁴Haldimand Papers, B. 139, p. 345.

every pains to assure Vermonters of Haldimand's determination to prevent settlements on the frontiers, and had even specified "the boundaries beyond which they must not presume to improve, namely, Middlebury Falls, North and East, for the west side, and the chain of the Green Mountains for the eastern boundary of the Connecticut River people."*

This question was raised, of course, by the new waves of immigration that flowed in during the closing scenes of the Revolution. In March, 1782, Captain Sherwood transmitted intelligence from Albany that there were great numbers of loyalists "in New York and the Massachusetts provinces" who wished to remove to Canada with their families, provided a place were available where they could settle and support themselves without any expense to government.† In the following May, General St. Leger wrote from Montreal to Quebec concerning "many persons under the designation of Loyalists lately come from the colonies" who were travelling about in his neighborhood.‡ In the latter part of June of the same year, word also came from Major John Nairnè, at the Isle aux Noix, of people detained there and at the Loyal Blockhouse who wished "above all things for leave to settle in Canada." In view of the distress of some of these persons, the Major asked permission in future to forward all those of whose fidelity he felt assured.⁴ Early in April, 1783, the Rev. Rama Cossit, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, sent a communication to Captain Sherwood that his parishioners had stood firm for the Crown in spite of persecution, but that now, terrified by the storms likely to arise, they wished to know if there was not room for them in the King's dominions. He added, with pathos, that though they had been made poor by the war, all they asked was the protection of the laws.⁵

Haldimand's objections to the settling of the frontier did not put a stop to the series of petitions requesting his consent for large parties of loyalists to take up their residence there. Only two months after Sherwood's efforts to disseminate the adverse views of the Governor General, some loyalists presented a memorial for permission to settle on Caldwell's Manor.⁶ The manor occupied the larger part of the broad tongue of land between the Richelieu River and Mississquoi Bay at the northern end of Lake Champlain. After another interval of sixty days William Marsh, a Vermont loyalist at St. Johns, sent in (August

*Can. Arch., 1888, 837.

†Haldimand Papers, B. 138, p. 165.

‡Ibid., B. 130, p. 124.

⁴ Ibid., 21,792, p. 199.

⁵ Can. Arch., 1888, 837.

⁶ Ibid., 1889, 73.

2, 1783, a description of the country about Lake Memphremagog, lying some forty miles east of Caldwell's Manor, with a virtual request on behalf of a party of loyalists numbering, he said, "about one hundred and twenty families and settlers" to be allowed to locate there.* Failing to obtain any satisfaction from Haldimand after more than two months, Marsh wrote again (February 29, 1784), to say that he was disappointed that no settlement was to be allowed at Memphremagog, but that he still entertained hopes, and this time asserted that there were several hundred families ready to go to Canada who "would add to the strength and wealth of the province." † As though in support of Marsh's statements, Ebenezer Rice and Benjamin Tyler, of Claremont, New Hampshire, sent in a petition a few days later in behalf of forty-six families besides their own, in all two hundred and thirty souls, asking to be allowed to form a town on the west bank of the Connecticut River or on Lake Memphremagog, on the score of the proximity of the regions. This party was described in the petition as being "of the Profession of the Church of England," and "overburdened with Usurpation, Tyrene, and oppression," and therefore impatient to find an asylum in their "Royal Master's Dominion." ‡ Another memorial of this period dated February 19, 1784, was signed by Dr. Isaac Moseley and Captain Ross in behalf of themselves and one hundred and sixty-two other "gentlemen" of Massachusetts, who wished to settle north of latitude 45° between Mississquoi Bay and the Connecticut River.⁴

Besides the considerations of convenience in moving and nearness to markets that impelled Tories to select nearby regions for settlement, there were representations growing out of the British attempt to win back Vermont to her former allegiance. For reasons of safety, Vermont encouraged this attempt through the agency of Ethan Allen, who commanded the Vermont troops.⁵ In the latter part of April, 1783, Allen sent a message to Sherwood "earnestly requesting that the loyalists in Canada might be settled near Vermont, as the private cabinet of Vermont had resolved to give every possible encouragement to loyal subjects in Canada to remove to the northern part of the State" for the purpose—as Allen alleged—of forming a party in opposition to Congress sufficient to effect the union of Vermont with Canada. It was evidently in furtherance of this project that Sherwood was visited by a Mr. Campbel from Boston, who was interested in forming some

* Can. Arch., 1888, 706.

† Ibid., 710.

‡ Can. Arch., 1888, 793; Haldimand Papers, B. 177-2, p. 643; B. 175, pp. 251, 253-255.

⁴ Haldimand Papers, B. 166, p. 168.

⁵ Scudder, Vermont, 204, ff.

plan for the speedy settlement of the northern part of Vermont and the Grand Isle by the distressed loyalists then in the States.* At the same time, several other men came to Captain Sherwood in search of "an asylum for a great number of loyalists" who were "determined to leave a country wholly under the direction of their cruel oppressors." The Captain promptly reported these matters to the government at Quebec, adding that he was being much embarrassed not only by the many coming in for advice, but also by those who heaped insults upon him, claimed the frontier as "their ground," and predicted the early denial to Tories of even the "liberty to trade." † A few days later, Sherwood transmitted word of a new development, namely, the great progress being made by revolutionists in settling the frontiers as far as the Onion and Lemoile rivers. Despite the objections of Governor Haldimand to the occupation of the southern border of Quebec by the loyalists, we find John W. Myers and Thomas Sherwood signing a petition of October 26, 1783, for a grant on the east side of Missisquoi Bay for the benefit of certain Tories named in a list accompanying the document. ‡ Permission to go to the Missisquoi region was also sought by Colonel John Peters, as the representative of a body of refugees in Canada who objected to the great distance of Cataragui.⁴

Toward the close of November, Haldimand wrote a letter to Lord North in which he explained that by keeping the frontier east of the St. Lawrence uninhabited as long as possible a rupture with the neighboring Americans would be avoided;⁵ and, in the following April, the King signified his approval of the Governor-General's position on this question.⁶ Nevertheless, not all of the petitioners could be prevented from carrying out their plans. In February and June, 1784, Captain Justus Sherwood and Major Edward Jessup, respectively, reported that those who had intended to go to Missisquoi had given up their project, but that some still persisted.⁷ Already, in February, lots were being sold and settlers were taking possession, although some were stopped as they were leaving St. Johns with their personal effects. The proprietors were Captains Azariah Pritchard, John W. Myers, and John Ruiter, Lieutenants Wehr, Ruiter, and Taylor, Ensigns Bird and Best, and Messrs. Martin and Taylor. Most of these men belonged to Major James Rogers' battalion of the King's Rangers at St. Johns,

*Haldimand Papers, B. 178, p. 190.

†Can. Arch., 1888, 839.

‡Ibid., 1889, 74.

⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁵ Haldimand Papers, B. 56, p. 201.

⁶ Ibid., B. 50, p. 157.

⁷ Ibid., 844, 715.

and were doubtless associated with others from the same corps.* They claimed to have purchased an old Indian title, but most of the land under this title—according to Captain Sherwood—lay in Vermont and was said to have been extended to the north of the Pike River by what the same officer called “a trick of the purchasers.” The version of the purchase given by Caleb Closson and Oliver Sweet, who belonged to the party, was that the lands had been secured from a Mr. Robertson of St. Johns, who in turn had “bought them from the Indians, nine miles south of the Mississquoi River and nine miles north, bounded [on the west] by the lake.”† According to this description, not more than one-sixth of the property lay within the borders of Canada; and the authorities at Quebec, after careful investigation, denied that any of it did.

Nevertheless, towards the end of April, 1784, the settlers of this district were still trying to obtain the sanction of the government, and one of their number sent in the names of three hundred persons who were ready to join them.‡ Of these, fifty-five names came from the loyalist colony at Machiche, ten others probably from Sorel, and the rest apparently from St. Johns and its vicinity.⁴ Prospective colonizers had been solicited at all of these places as well as at Montreal, and had been promised gratuitous provisions as long as the loyalists settling on government grants should receive them.⁵ Fourteen families had already located at Mississquoi Bay and three more on Caldwell's Manor, all of these being north of the province line.⁶ Captain Azariah Pritchard, however, finding that Haldimand's opposition to the settlement was unalterable and that most of the land secured for it lay in Vermont, decided to sever his connection with the enterprise and betake himself to the Bay of Chaleurs. Moreover, Pritchard, who was a man of energy and influence, dissuaded about two-thirds of the King's Rangers, —according to his own estimate— from settling at Mississquoi Bay. The others would not give up their purpose of doing so.⁷ In the fall of 1784 the colony made a considerable gain through the accession of a dozen or more families,⁸ and the disobedient settlers were promptly struck from the government's provision list. Early in the following February, some of them sent in a petition for the continuance of the King's bounties, bearing marks of their indignation. They announced

*Can. Arch., 1888, 711, 683. *Vide ante*, p. 16.

†Ibid., 711.

‡Haldimand Papers, B. 167, pp. 384-387.

⁴Can. Arch., 1888, 714; Haldimand Papers, B. 177, pp. 384, 387.

⁵Can. Arch., 1888, 714; Sherwood to Mathews.

⁶Haldimand Papers, B. 162, pp. 210, 211.

⁷Ibid., pp. 392-397.

⁸Thomas, Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships, 15, 16.

it as their opinion "that all loyalists, Settling in the Province of Quebec, are Allowed Provision whether on King's Land or not, if within the Province line," and they declined to think that it was by any order of King or Parliament that faithful subjects were deprived of government bounties, even excepting "such and only such, who settle in Particular Places, which Perhaps through the Indication of Selfe interested Gentlemen, has been put into the head of the late Commander in Chief." This petition was signed by Christian Wehr and fourteen others.* A comparison of these names with the nineteen names of families who arrived in the previous fall, or earlier, shows only six names common to both lists. Taking all together, we have a total of twenty-eight different names of families known to have settled east of Mississquoi Bay up to February, 1785. That others should be included is indicated by the testimony of various refugees before the British Commissioners of claims at Quebec and Montreal in 1787 and 1788, in which it appears that they were residents of the same region.† Most, if not all, of the men of this group had fought during the war as loyalists, and nearly all of them—as indicated by their names—were of Dutch origin.‡ Those who can be definitely traced located on the shore of the bay and in the adjacent country north of the Vermont boundary, in part of the region later known as the Eastern Townships.

On the western side of Mississquoi Bay, as we have previously mentioned, lies the peninsula that embraced Foucault or Caldwell's Manor. Adjoining this on the north was Noyan or Christie's Manor. The peninsula was a fertile and well wooded region, and sufficiently isolated from the rebellious states on either side to attract refugee loyalists and neutrals. Hence, many took up their abode there after the Revolution. Among the first to enter was a loyalist group that assembled in Canada and formed a colony on the western side of the peninsula a mile or two south of the Vermont line, where Alburgh now stands. They supposed themselves still within the Province of Quebec. Discovering their mistake when the forty-fifth parallel was accurately defined, most, if not all, of them made haste to recross the line and choose new locations. Among these colonists was William Soles, a

*Mississquoi County Historical Society, Third Annual Report, 102.

†Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 457; Pt. II., 936-7, 940, 1269.

‡The names appearing on the combined lists are as follows: Christian Wehr, Conrad Best, John Ruiter, Adam Deal, Ludwig Streit, Alexander Taylor, Harmonus Best, Christian Hayner, Alexander Hyatt, Gilbert Hyatt, John Saxe, Jacob Barr, John Mock, Philip Luke, Joseph Smith, Garret Sixby, James Anderson, Frederick Hayner, Peter Miller, Christian Mayer, John Cole, George Feller, Josamind Drow, Ludwig Streit, Jr., Jacob Thomas, Philip Ruiter, John Van Vorst, and James Henderson. The names of those referred to as submitting claims are: Robert Brisbane, Abraham Hyatt, Duncan Cameron, and John Waggener.

native of Rhode Island, who remained at St. Johns and Sorel until the close of the war, when he joined the company going to Alburgh.* A person less prompt in departing from the American side was Captain John Savage, who in a petition to the government, in 1792, stated that he had a farm in Caldwell's Manor within the American lines, from which Colonel Allen was attempting to remove him for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the American states.† This appears to have been the same Captain Savage who several years previously had returned with a Mr. Campbell from St. Johns to Vermont to aid Ira Allen in settling loyalists there, pursuant to the latter's plan. When it became clear that Allen's real purpose was to incite Congress to admit Vermont into the Union, his colleagues abandoned him, and apparently Allen took revenge by forcing Savage and his associates to withdraw to Canada.‡ Another loyalist family that suffered persecution in this seigniory was the Martin family whose buildings were burned by renegades from the States.⁴

Other refugees, already in Canada, also desired to go to Caldwell's Manor and memorialized the government for its consent.⁵ The fact that they were preparing to occupy private lands on the American frontier constituted a two-fold reason why the authorities at Quebec probably withheld their approval, if they did not actually oppose the request. At any rate, these settlers, like those at Mississquoi, found it necessary to petition for such supplies,⁶ but evidently failed to get them, for they were reported as being in distress early in August, 1784, by Stephen De Lancey, inspector of loyalists.⁷ Among these settlers were many of Burgoyne's American recruits, including John Church, Captain Henry Ruitter, and John Pickell, Daniel Beagh, Andrew Liddel, Jeremiah Spencer, and John Curtis. These men were from the States of New York and Vermont. Among the civilian pioneers of the district were Moses Westover of Sheffield, Massachusetts, and Rev. William Marsh, who helped to organize what was probably the first Baptist Church of Lower Canada.⁸ Christie's Manor likewise received a number of families driven from their

*Thomas, *Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships*, 207-8; Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, 289.

†Thomas, *History of Shefford*, 13, 14.

‡Mississquoi County Historical Society, *Third An. Rep.*, 104, 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Can. Arch.*, 1889, 73.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷ *Can. Arch.*, 1888, 742.

⁸ Thomas, *Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships*, 158; *Second Rep.*, Bureau of Arch., Ont., Pt. II., 941, 1118, 1119, 1267, 1259, 1268; Thomas, *Contributions*, 210, 194-5.

homes by the persecution then prevalent in the States, many of these being of English, Scotch, Irish, or German origin.*

From the loyalist settlements of the seigniories and Mississquoi Bay some families scattered throughout the adjoining country eastward for fifty miles, that is, beyond Lake Memphremagog, and northward for thirty miles. This district includes the present counties of Mississquoi, Brome, and Shefford, and parts of Stanstead and Sherbrooke counties. The dispersion was no doubt partly due to natural causes, but it was also stimulated by a new policy on the part of the government of Lower Canada. In 1791, the government gave up its old policy of opposing settlement along the American border with a view to attracting a large class of immigrants from New England. The new policy provided for the granting of a township to a company of associates, who were required to pay the expense of the preliminary survey. The township was then erected, and the lands allotted to the associates. Thus, what are known as the Eastern Townships were created. As the loyalists dwelling on Caldwell's and Christie's manors and Mississquoi Bay could not obtain grants there, because these districts were private instead of royal domain, their desire for bounty lands could only be satisfied by their organizing or joining a company of associates; and this was what some of them did.†

Robert Manson and Thomas Shepard, of the Mississquoi colony, were given lands in Bolton Township, near Lake Memphremagog, in 1797.‡ Captain Henry Ruiter, of the same settlement, received several lots in Potton Township, south of Bolton, and settled there in 1799,§ later becoming an associate of Sutton. When the latter township was established in 1802, it was granted to a large number of associates, many of whom were loyalists of the Caldwell and Mississquoi communities. Among the grantees of Mississquoi were Hermanus Best, R. Brisbane, Adam Deal, Frederick Hayner, and Alexander Taylor, whilst among those of Caldwell's Manor were Ephraim Hawley, Andrew Liddel, Rev. William Marsh, John Pickell, Captain Henry Ruiter, Jeremiah Spencer, Moses Westover, and William Huntington.¶ Captain John Savage, also of the Caldwell settlement, was the leader of the associates to whom the Township of Shefford was granted in 1801, other loyalist grantees being his son John, and John Mock, of Mississquoi Bay.¶ Gilbert Hyatt, another of the

*Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, 324.

†Mississquoi County Historical Society, *Third An. Rep.*, 97-99.

‡Thomas, *Contributions*, 315, 316, 332.

§ *Ibid.*, 302, 303.

¶ Thomas, *Contributions*, 174, ff.

¶ Day, *History of the Eastern Townships* 343.

original settlers on the bay, was apparently the agent of the associates who, in 1803, received portions of Ascot Township in Sherbrooke County. Several of Hyatt's brothers also received grants in the same township.* In the same year, Roxton Township was erected, and again pioneer settlers east of Mississquoi Bay were among the grantees, including Elizabeth Ruiter, the widow of John Ruiter, together with her six children, and Christian Wehr, junior.†

The most notable of the loyalist associates of the Eastern Townships was undoubtedly Abraham Cuyler, former mayor of Albany, New York, who, after serving as inspector of refugees loyalist in the Province of Quebec, became the promoter of a loyalist movement to the Island of Cape Breton. In 1782, Cuyler went to London to seek compensation for his losses, and wrote thence to the Canadian authorities for the concession of the whole Township of Hemmingford. Failing in this petition, he applied for allotments in Danham, Stanbridge, Farnham, Shefford, and Stanstead townships. Next, he claimed a part of Montreal, but, as this was not available, he was given 3,600 acres elsewhere, and, in addition, he and his two sons received grants as associates of Farnham in 1798. However, there is reason for believing that the disposable crown lands in this township were exhausted before Cuyler secured his claim. ‡

The extensive district thus widely, if sparsely, seeded with loyalist stock lay east of the Richelieu. West of that river lies the elongated County of Huntingdon, adjacent to the New York boundary, and extending clear to the St. Lawrence River. It also received its sprinkling of loyalist settlers. Those who took up their residence in the eastern part of Huntingdon came from the banks of the Richelieu, from the district of La Colle adjoining, from Alburgh, Vermont, and even from Sorel. Thus, some of the pioneers of the eastern part of Huntingdon were the sons of refugee settlers along the Richelieu, who as they grew up "moved back into the bush" and made clearings for themselves. With them came a few families of loyalists from La Colle and Alburgh. The Township of Hemmingford was opened in this way in the spring of 1800 by James Fisher and his family, of Alburgh. Several years earlier a small loyalist settlement was begun on the eastern slope of Covey Hill, nine miles west of Hemmingford. So far as known the first member of this community was James O'Neill, a Tory from Pennsylvania, who served in the Royal Regiment of Highland Emigrants during the Revolution, and emigrated to Can-

*Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, 376, 377.

†*Ibid.*, 341.

‡Mississquoi County Historical Society, *Third An. Rep.*, 93; Day, *History of the Eastern Townships*, 272.

ada after his discharge. He secured a grant of 200 acres, which he occupied in April, 1797. Nicholas Sweet, of Vermont, arrived in the next year with two brothers-in-law, and simultaneously with a family of loyalists, Gordon by name, who had been at Sorel. A number of other American families joined this settlement, but how many of them were loyalists can not be ascertained. Samuel Covey, after whom the locality was named, was the son of one of the loyalists who founded Alburgh. After nine years on the hill, Covey and his family removed to La Tortue, then to Clarenceville, and finally, in 1830, to Franklin, where lived Samuel's three brothers, James, Enos, and Archibald. Another resident of Franklin was Jacob Manning, son of a loyalist of Poughkeepsie, who settled for a time at the head of Lake Champlain, but in the spring of 1804 removed with his son to Frankln.* Among the loyalists living at La Colle, in 1788, were Robert Whitman, formerly of Still Water, New York,† and Angus McBean, formerly of Otter Creek, Vermont.‡

At the western end of the County of Huntingdon, a large part of Godmanchester Township on Lake St. Francis was ceded to veterans of the American war, as was also a small part of Hichinbrook Township, which adjoined it on the east. The survey of these and other townships in the county was effected in 1788 and 1789, and both officers and militiamen received grants. It is more than likely that some of these were American loyalists, although we have not the information at hand to confirm the conjecture. It appears, however, that the land nearest the lake proved to be undesirable, and that the recipients disposed of their claims, with the exception of perhaps a dozen families who formed a settlement on the second range of St. Amicet. Little is known of the subsequent history of this community, save that they abandoned their habitations at the outbreak of the War of 1812, a fact patent to the immigrants arriving some years later in the dismal testimony of the roofless shanties still standing and the clearings already overgrown with saplings.⁴

Among the earliest efforts to propagate the Protestant religion in Canada were those made at Sorel before the war had terminated. They proved unsuccessful for a brief period, owing to the dubious character and conduct of the clergyman in charge, whom a contemporary wittily called "the irreverend Mr. Scott." As this person was chaplain of the Thirty-fourth Regiment, he was under the jurisdiction of Colonel

*Sellar, *History of Huntingdon, Chateaugay, and Beauharnois*, 14, 19, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30.

†Second Report, Bureau of Archives, Ont., Pt. I., 483.

‡Ibid., 349.

⁴Sellar, *History of Huntingdon, Chateaugay, and Beauharnois*, 16, 17, 158.

Barry St. Leger, commandant of the post, and was soon silenced by him. Mr. Scott was followed in 1782 by the Reverend John Doty, who asked "for the use of a government building in which to hold services, as the French church had hitherto been used for Protestant worship."*

The loyalists who settled at Mississquoi Bay and thence scattered into the Eastern Townships appear to have received their religious instruction chiefly through the ministrations of Lorenzo Dow and other Methodist clergymen from the neighboring states. Dow visited this region as early as 1799, and within a few years Methodist societies were formed in St. Armand, Sutton, Potton, and the settlement at Pigeon Hill.† Previous to this a Baptist church had been organized in Sutton by the Rev. William Marsh, a loyalist.‡ Presbyterianism was also represented among these loyalist settlers.⁴

There were few, if any, schools to which the inhabitants of these townships could send their children before 1805.⁵ In this respect they were some years behind the settlements at Machiche, Sorel, and St. Johns, but the schools established at these and other places were apparently too primitive to do more than furnish the most limited education.⁶

*McIlwraith, Sir Frederick Haldimand, 256.

†Tucker, Camden Colony, 87; Thomas, Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships, 44, 199, 310, 311.

‡Day, History of the Eastern Townships, 288.

⁴ Day, Pioneers of the Eastern Townships, 171.

⁵ Thomas, Contributions to the History of the Eastern Townships, 18; Day, History of the Eastern Townships, 204.

⁶ Can. Arch., 1889, xx.

